

Cox Address Model of Patriotic Adherence to Fundamental Principles of Government as Distinguished From Harding Expediency

GOV. JAMES MIDDLETON COX'S speech of acceptance delivered at Dayton yesterday will go down in the history of the democratic party, and among the semi-state papers of the country, as one of the most comprehensive discussions of public questions, touching the moment of utterance, since Thomas Jefferson. We say since Jefferson in particular, because of the application of Jeffersonian doctrine. He subjugates the expediencies of the hour to fundamental principles, as if intent upon building, not for a day, but for eternity.

Lincoln too was a democrat, though he thought he was a whig; evolved into a republican from a whig—so far as concerns party associations. But for the slave question Lincoln would have been a democrat; the slave question and the tendency to exaggerate state rights. He believed in the people. He believed in the largest possible measure of home rule, consistent with an "indissoluble union," and into this he incorporated his dislike of "dominant" and "slave" races. The republican party under Lincoln served a goodly purpose, at a moment when democracy running amuck through desertion of democratic principles, corrupted by sectional ambition and selfish interests, failed to function as it should. The democratic party of Lincoln's time was in much the same rut as the republican party of Harding's time.

But the democratic party has come back, passing the g. o. p. and leaving it behind, reactionary, soaked in "stand-patism," with no record save the one that Lincoln left it. They boast that they "freed the slave" and "saved the Union," which true enough took place under republican administrations. Let them have the honor, though democrats of the north were just as loyal to the Union as were the republicans. From that time on, however, beginning even with Grant and ending with Taft—with a slight let-up under Roosevelt—the republican party has been a party of sectionalism and selfish interests, as truly as the democratic party was when Buchanan surrendered the government to Lincoln's care. Sen. Harding promises speedy

resumption by his announced backward-looking program.

The republican party is an erotic clique, not of people, nor of persons, but of stool-pigeons; unconsciously, though willingly, through the dominance of their acquisitive ambitions for power, position and influence, subservient to the sections, interests, groups, out of which they emerge, anticipating special privileges in consequence. Such a subservience, in the light of republican history, is what Sen. Harding means by "government by party." His slam at "personal government," as he wishes to ascribe something, is of course hurled at Pres't Wilson, but in republican parlance it is a slam at "government by the people, of the people, and for the people," as much a repudiation of Lincoln as of Wilson.

Gov. Cox in his speech of acceptance makes the distinction plain, not in those words, but more elaborately, the vein running from beginning to the end of the address. He maintains, through his mode of discussing the questions before him, that the necessities and desires of the moment can be met without contravening those fundamental principles upon which a democracy must rest if it is to stand and not fall. We are a government by the people, not by cliques, dollars, interests or groups, and we must not remain, else we surrender the republic for the soviet—which under republican rule, due to the party's composition and tendency of service, the republic, victim of invisible influence, invariably becomes.

No interest, whether of capital or labor, will dominate the government of the United States under "Pres't" Cox, neither as a reward due from the party nor from himself personally. The service will be to the people on the basis of "the greatest good to the greatest number," if we read his promises aright. It is, indeed, with great skill that he has brought all the issues of the campaign under that heading, with equality, not party; justice, not favoritism; right, not privilege; the masses, not the classes,—to be the first beneficiaries of his efforts. To promote the private welfare through the public good is laid down as his only ambition.

Americans Who May Thank Senate Conspiracy When Russo-Polish War Envelops the World

WITH the possibility, if not the probability, lingering at the eastern horizon of the Russians conquering Poland, being received with open arms by Austria and Germany, and then pushing on to France, necessitating another world war—in which the United States would almost certainly be involved, to drive back not alone the Hun but the bolsheviks—we hope those Americans who have been imagining themselves opposed to the League of Nations, and whose sons, or themselves, may be called upon to do the fighting, will awaken to the pit into which it bids fair to plunge them.

Poland is not "hands clean" on this subject, was warned by the council of allies to behave herself, but despite all that Russia would have taken greater care about what she was getting into, and Poland probably would have behaved, had the League of Nations stood staring them in the face, a united, virile, active force, with the allied world at its back. That is what it should have been a year ago July 23, instead of July 23 last, and would have been, but for the year of "watchful waiting"—waiting for Uncle Sam to come across, keep faith with the world,—from which he has been held back by the "copperheadism" that controlled the United States senate. Mothers and fathers, and sisters and sweethearts, and the khaki-clads as well, who may be torn apart by another war, should, if they have been opposed to giving the League of Nations a chance to prove its efficacy, look to the senate "copperhead" majority for their sympathy.

Though in existence for some months without the United States, the League has been limited in its operations to organization, the work of committees and commissions, this including the efforts of the council of allied premiers. The world impression has been that the allies had fallen apart and would never become a united force again—the asininity of the U. S. senatorial oligarchy, playing politics, with so important a problem, being the fattest contributor to that impression. The Versailles treaty and League of Nations could as well have been ratified in from 20 to 30 days after its arrival from Paris but for the partisan skulduggery fraught with League assassination that occupied the senatorial conspirators. The ratification might even have taken place with reservations, had they been sensible reservations, constructive rather than destructive, and intended to clarify rather than nullify the document, which nullification Russia and Poland seem to have been led to believe had taken place.

As Gov. Cox proved in his acceptance speech at Dayton yesterday, all the legitimate and patriotic pretenses that the opponents of the League have dared hold out as reasons why it should not be ratified, could have been put into a 125-word reservation, disposing of the "super-sovereignty," the "American standards," and "constitutional" subtleties, and without negating the League or menacing its effectiveness. Very different this from the 3,000-word Lodge reservations, calculated to nullify the League while pretending to "safeguard" America! Read the formula proposed by Gov. Cox:

"In giving its assent to the treaty, the senate has in mind the fact that the League of Nations which it embodies was devised for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and comity among the nations of the earth and preventing the recurrence of such destructive conflicts as that through which the world is just passed. The cooperation of the United States with the League and its continuance as a member thereof, will naturally depend upon the adherence of the League to that fundamental purpose.

"It will, of course, be understood that in carrying out the purpose of the League, the government of the United States must at all times act in strict harmony with the terms and intent of the United States constitution which cannot in any way be altered by the treaty-making power."

Readers! Gov. Cox does not regard such a

reservation as at all necessary. The League covenant as it stands, construed in the sense and spirit of international law, presumes and concedes all that the reservation sets forth, "as a matter of course," but the democratic nominee submits it as his interpretation of what the democratic platform means by advocating:

"Immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity," while not opposing "the acceptance of any reservation, making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates."

Nothing under the sun—no terms or set of terms,—could make—

"Clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States."

than the League covenant itself makes them, except to the carping critic. Yet the democratic nominee concedes that, if it will soothe them any, or satisfy their hypercriticism, democracy will accede to the League opponents something like the reservation which he submits, in perfect keeping with what Pres't Wilson has always said would be acceptable.

"There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification, but when the treaty is acted upon I must know whether we have accepted or rejected it."

the president has always maintained. The difference, as Gov. Cox well puts it, between reservations such as the democrats would admit of, and those which the republicans have been seeking to put over, would be in tone and spirit, democratic effort tending toward constructiveness rather than destructiveness, seeking to ratify rather than nullify, and stating—

"our interpretations as a matter of good faith to any misunderstanding in the future,"—try to promote good feeling, confidence and understanding, rather than ill-feeling and suspicion if not enmity.

The distinction is clear as crystal. It is enough to say to the League of Nations that the United States must act as a constitutional government and that the United States constitution is paramount to the League covenant; this, if there be those so technical, in their lack of acquaintance with international law, as to think it necessary—and it can be done too, without going on to encumber the League with interpretations of that constitution.

Neither did Gov. Cox spring anything wholly new in this. That reservation, or a similar one, was before the senate oligarchy throughout the League controversy which has been on now for over a year. Adopted, the world unoffended, determined upon a policy of international peace, would promptly have gotten down to business. In the face of such activity Poland and Russia, despite the latter's bolshevism and the former's ambitions, neither of them, would have precipitated the turmoil that now threatens civilization again. Thank the United States senate for the prospect,—and those who have permitted themselves to become inoculated with the senatorial poison, may, if worse comes to worse also thank the senate oligarchy for their tears.

Trade with the bolsheviks? Yes—we'll take 'most anything they've got, except their hair, their paper money and their bolshevism.

Maybe the reason Philadelphia shows that gain in population is that the people there could keep still long enough to be counted.

Since the notification will be made at the Dayton fair grounds, Cox can literally pitch his hat into the ring.

SHORT FURROWS

By the Noted
Indiana Humorist

KIN HUBBARD



TH' PASSIN' O' TH' HOME

"Ther haint nothin' improbable any more," said Tell Binkley this mornin'. "Th' world war, th' flyin' machine, th' price o' butter, th' submarine, th' defeat o' th' peace treaty, Senator Harding's nomination, one hundred an' thirty-five-dollar suitcases, th' price o' 'platters, an' hand made eye-brows, have altogether brought this sober, startlin' fact home t' us with such vividness that we can't overlook it. So, then, it is well t' ponder long and seriously over a statement recently made by Landlord Gabe Crawl, o' th'

New Palace hotel—that in th' course o' th' next eight or ten years ever-buddy 'll be livin' in hotels an' boardin' houses. Landlord Crawl says it's simply a matter o' evolution, an' that th' ever-indication t' back up his assertion, th' ole cottage home with its garden plot an' fruit trees 'll disappear jest th' same as th' ole squeakin' green pump an' family hitchin' post have disappeared. Apartment buildin's are springin' up ever'where, gigan-tic hotels are piercin' th' very skies, while fewer an' fewer homes are bein' built an' ole homes are bein' transformed int' four-apartment flats. I expect t' see great canton-ments built after th' fashion o' poul-try houses, fer couples that wish t'

raise children. Th' cost o' main-tainin' a personal establishment has already reached the point where it's well nigh prohibitive. Rents are goin' up, plumbers are slower and more expensive, servants are extinct, growin' daughters refuse t' do housework, tired wives are throwin' up th' sponge, there's no one t' spade th' garden or cut th' grass. Th' desire t' eat away from home is growin' an' growin', while downtown eatin' places are multi-plyin' by leaps an' bounds. Ice bills, coal bills, property assessments, taxes, light bills, telephone bills, grocery bills, milk bills, an' all kinds o' bills are gittin' higher an' higher. Motho's is gettin' tired o' run-ning a home an' father is gittin' tired

o' tryin' t' have a home." "I reckon th' future gran'motho' 'll think th' about her relation how she used t' git home late from a shoppin' tour, call th' children home from th' neighbors, an' open a can o' beans, an' send t' th' corner grocery fer loaf o' bread, an' make a pot o' coffee, an' muss up ever' dink in th' house jest fer th' sake o' a little dinner in her own home," said Miss Fawn Lipinnet, with some sarcasm.

"Yes, an' then gran'paw 'll relate how he washed th' dishes an' mind-ed th' children while gran'maw re-powdered his nose, made a couple o' new eye-brows an' trotted off downtown agin," put in Uncle Niles Turner. (Copyright, 1920.)

Independent Republican Newspapers Take Harding to Task on League of Nations Attitude But Pro-German Press Lauds Him

Evidences of dissatisfaction with the Harding stand on the League of Nations issue are beginning to multiply in the independent and independent republican press of the country. Even a few of the old stalwart papers, which have been accus-tomed to follow through thick and thin with the republican candidate, are showing a tendency to critical analysis which is astounding when the freedom and independence of the American press are considered. It begins to appear that only the Johnson organs and the died-in-the-wool republican organs will accept the Harding announcement at its face value. The independent press of the country, of the type of the New York Evening Post, the Chicago Post and the Springfield Republican, is practically unanimous in condemn-ing Mr. Harding's position.

Provisions in Mr. Harding's speech of acceptance which do not have to do with the League of Nations, and ready acceptance in the independent republican press. But the ease with which these other provisions are accepted but emphasizes the critical attitude towards the treaty stand.

The Los Angeles Times, one of the most stalwart and influential of the republican papers of the coun-try, has taken issue with Mr. Harding's position. It is candidly disgusted with the Harding stand. To quote from its editorial of July 16, capitals and all.

Sen. Harding is right in the main in the opinion he has ex-pressed and the conclusions he has reached in relation to our national and international affairs. His ten-dency is strong in its denunciation of the idea of a separate peace with Germany. Very clearly it points out a serious drawback in such a plan.

"There is, of course, not the slightest assurance that Germany would make peace with us on terms that we could as a self-respecting nation accept. She would be very likely—indeed, almost certain—to insist on a soft peace. We can not think that this is what the candidate has in mind."

Discussing the speech of Mr. Coolidge in acceptance of the vice-presidential nomination, The News is even more critical. It says: "The candidate seemed to speak less decidedly than either his chief or the convention, and yet he ac-cepted the idea which we think has already been shown to be preposterous—that peace can be made immediately by a republican president and senator."

On the other hand, the pro-German press, particularly the leader among them, is strong for Harding, declaring him "better than his plat-form," which means, of course, bet-ter for Germany. It prefers Debs to Harding, but anything that will re-pudiate and punish Woodrow Wilson

is also not lacking in the news-papers. The Springfield Republican, one of the oldest and most consist-ent independent papers in the coun-try, is by no means satisfied by Mr. Harding's position. It declares that he has but clothed himself in the ral-ly of a defeated candidate and sug-gests that he now step aside in favor of the man whose thunder he has taken. It says:

It could be argued that inas-much as the national republican ticket and platform have become a Hiram Johnson ticket and plat-form, Hiram Johnson should now be running for the presidency as the republican candidate. Mr. Johnson is certainly a better rep-resentative than Mr. Harding can hope to be of the attitude Mr. Harding assumed in his speech of acceptance on the peace and League of Nations issue. Mr. Johnson's essential ideas have been finally adopted and the re-publi-can campaign is to be in ef-fect a Johnson campaign. It fol-lows that Mr. Johnson should have been the candidate.

While that is logic in politics, politics in practice gives us Hard-ing instead of Johnson, while making Harding swallow John-son's policy. Logically, Harding should now withdraw, and John-son should be put in his place for the same reason that Sen. Moses should get the republican nomina-tion in New Hampshire instead of Mr. Spaulding. This would prob-ably happen in any western Eu-ropean country; it is impossible in America. It's now Harding or bust.

And the Springfield Union waxes eloquent on the tendency to con-demn the league because of its Wil-son sponsorship. Its carefully ed-ited editorial shows that it favors the old league in some form and is dis-gusted with Mr. Harding's stand. It says:

"We are inclined to think that the president's policy regarding the League of Nations and the pres-ident himself are two very differ-ent things, that the former is far from being as unpopular as the latter, and that it would be a mis-take, and possibly a fatal mistake, to consider them as identical ques-tions or ideas in the minds of the people. It does not follow that a successful effort to discredit the league, nor does it follow that confining the campaign to an at-tack on the president would be a good policy in any circumstance."

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France Planning Drive on America to Make Friends

By WILLIAM T. ELLIS, D. D.

A few days ago the cables reported that the French government has assured the chambers of deputies, absent the use of a propaganda fund of 20,000,000 francs, that it realizes the need of propaganda in the United States "to encourage a new cultural of racial solidarity with wounded France."

Probably it was not intended that this new item should be published in America. Propaganda depends for success upon keeping its own machinery in the dark. "To be forewarned," etc., America is much better off without foreign propaganda within her borders; she is resentful against it. During the war we had too much of it.

As a useful, well-meaning, glib-tongued people, we have a healthy pabulum of propaganda as though it were real food. Now we know that it was poison in our system, which has seriously affected the national eyesight.

Newspapers have done their best to save the public from the perils of propaganda. At the present time the outstanding movement in the press of the country, next to the struggle with the shortage of white paper, is the effort to put the press agent and the propagandist out of business.

All the enterprising men who have since the war left the ranks of regular newspaper workers to find soft berths as public agents are going to find the aforesaid berths paved with jagged rocks.

What America needs most today, and what the newspapers most need to publish, is facts, plain facts, free and uncensored facts, even the indiscreet facts, concerning whatever affects the public interest.

Had America been permitted to know all the facts about international conditions there would have been no possible foreboding of war. The knowledge of the press to-day in placarding these poison springs—the result will be sus-picion and resentment.

What is true concerning French propaganda is equally true of British and Italian and Greek and Polish and Armenian and Zionist and Turkish and Japanese and Chinese and Russian propaganda.

All of them are and in the bearings of democracy. Our neighbors among the nations should trust us to find out truth for ourselves.

The best possible propaganda for any government is for it to abolish all censorship, to establish a machinery for the influencing of public opinion and so to conduct itself that the fullest knowledge of all of its ac-tions will make for it friends and admirers.

Capital Outdoes Labor in Strike for Big Profits

By EMERALD HUGHSON.

Public sentiment against strikes and labor disturbances runs higher than usual. Indeed, so vital does one state consider uninterrupted production to the nation's welfare that it recently passed a law aimed at the end of strikes. The worker himself seems more inclined to this view than he was formerly. In Kansas, the state that has the dra-matic history of the laborer, a strike has struck a decided slump.

It is not without surprise, then, that we read the American Woolen Co., which recently announced it would close down its mills because of "cancellation of orders."

On the heels of closing of the mills, associations of clothing manu-facturers and dealers announce higher prices for this fall and winter because of "shortage of wool-ens." The American Woolen Co. has better take another look at its books. Perhaps it has some orders it overlooked.

It is interesting to note that the American Woolen Co. recently nar-rowly escaped prosecution by a judi-cial ruling that cloth is not cloth-ing in the meaning of the Lever act. The act is intended to prevent a trust got away with it. Is closing down of its mills intended, among other things, namely keeping up prices, and intended as a gentle warning against further government interference?

Locked-out mill operatives can easily find work elsewhere. It is the public, not they or the owners of the mills, who will suffer. And the public ought to be given the as-surance that if it is to pay more for clothing this fall and winter, it will not be because mill owners have shut down their mills.

Although he has never said whether he would have joined that little party staged by the colonists in Boston, it will be observed that Sir Thomas Lipton has never refused to dump a little tea advertising into the ocean.

Sometimes we feel we're going to have a vacation that summer if we have to strike for it; and then again we're afraid if we strike the vacation might be too long. It's a hard world, mates.

Thirty-three languages are spoken in New York. Not to mention the low, elegant speech of a \$19 bill in the hands of a head waiter of a crowded restaurant.

which he declares that "he and all the well-wishers of Germany" thank God for Bismarck. Bismarck was as member as the capitalist politician who challenged the allies to a battle of wits during the Spa conference. Mr. Vireck hopes that "this industrial Caesar is the man to save Ger-many."

Mr. Vireck has written an article, headed "Thank God for Bismarck!" in

unsuspecting, causing them to shirk for his delight. He findeth defunct lobsters and surreptitiously placeth them upon the ankles of the timorous. He is so coquettish! He rocketeth the row-boat until the damsel cries out in terror, and amuseth the multitude by tipping the canoe for diversion. Behold, could anything be "fun-ner!" Verily, verily, he is the Peter Pan of the Seaside, the eternal "small boy," who hath never grown up, nor lost his joy in the Practical Joke!

Lo, his "wit" is heavier than hotel pastry, and harder to swallow than an actress's press-notices. Yet when the persecuted victim cryeth out in protest, he mocketh him with cheerful ha-ha's, saying: "Oh, be a sport—be not a joy killer!"

Alas, many sorrows have we with us at the summer resort; but the WATER-WIT o'ershadoweth them all.

For a little sense of humor, in the FONG place, is a terrible thing! Selah.